

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 833

June 13, 1952

FOURPENCE

What is the Atlantic Charter?

NEW ATTEMPT TO MAKE ITS TERMS A REALITY

By BERNARD J. BOOTHROYD

A NEW organisation, the Lewes Council for the Prevention of War, has been formed for the purpose of co-ordinating the activities of all local organisations and individuals who believe in the paramount necessity of settling international differences by peaceful means.

Its propaganda will concentrate on issues that are already largely supported by public opinion, and may be summed up briefly as an effort to make the terms of the Atlantic Charter a reality.

Public are confused

The terms of this historic declaration have tended to be largely obscured by subsequent events, and to be confused, in the minds of many people, with the Atlantic Pact.

In the Council's view, however, the Charter still stands as an adequate assertion of the basic principles essential to world peace, and urgently needs to be re-stated.

The following is the text of the Roosevelt-Churchill Declaration, published on August 14, 1941:

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

1. Their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other.
2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.
3. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

World trade

4. They will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world, which are needed for their economic prosperity.

5. They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

6. After the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

Disarmament

7. Such a peace would enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance
8. They believe all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as for spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armament.

Emrys Hughes MP to speak at Trafalgar Square rally

Emrys Hughes and Victor Yates, two Labour MPs, will be speaking at a PPU meeting in Trafalgar Square on Sunday afternoon, July 6.

Other speakers will be Alex Comfort, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison, Mona Bentin and Robert Horniman.

U.S. journalist throws new light on Korea

THE CRIME OF SINUIJU

People killed like 'worthless flies' to thwart peace moves

ON November 8, 1950, Sinuiju, a North Korean city on the Yalu river and Chinese border, was attacked by 79 B29 Superfortresses and 300 fighter planes.

They dropped 630 tons of bombs, used rockets, demolition bombs, and 85,000 incendiaries, and it was said that 90 per cent of the city was destroyed.

The attack began in the morning "when fighter planes swept the area with machine guns, rockets, and jellied gasoline (napalm) bombs." These were followed by ten of the Superforts which "dropped 1,000-pound high-explosive bombs on railroad and highway bridges across the Yalu River or on the bridge approaches."

"The remaining planes used incendiaries exclusively on a two and one-half mile built-up area along the southeast bank of the Yalu."

The quotations are from an announcement by Lt. General George E. Stratemeyer, Commander of the USA's Far East Air Forces, and are included in an account of the Korea War by I. F. Stone, "The Hidden History of the Korean War," published today by the Turnstile Press (21s).

Indifference to suffering

Mr. Stone's comment on the account is:

"There is an indifference to human suffering to be read between these lines which makes me as an American deeply ashamed of what was done that day at Sinuiju."

The reader may wonder why Mr. Stone should particularly feel shame in regard to Sinuiju.

Has not similar treatment been applied to scores of towns and villages throughout Korea? And not only in North Korea, which is enemy territory, but throughout the greater part of South Korea, the land that the forces of the United Nations were protecting from outrage?

Had not Seoul been destroyed by the American defenders as part of a scorched earth policy? Had there not been wide areas completely destroyed by napalm?

According to Mr. Stone's story, based on inferences drawn from a careful analysis of official press communiques, what was done at Sinuiju was undertaken not primarily as an act of war but as a political act, as a means of thwarting possible peace moves by the United Nations.

It was realised that the Chinese Government had genuine reason to be alarmed at the closeness to the Yalu River of troops of the power that was its declared enemy and refused to recognise it as a Government; and all the actions of the Chinese were easily explained by this concern.

On the day before this attack was made on Sinuiju the Chairman of the United Nations Interim Committee on Korea had issued a statement "to reassure the Chinese Communists regarding their interests on the Korean-Manchurian border." There had been exceedingly little, and very cautious, activity on the part of Chinese Forces and it was felt that this offered a promising opportunity for the achievement of a peace.

MacArthur thought otherwise

General MacArthur and his Command thought otherwise, however. A United States Eighth Army spokesman had said that "Chinese Communist troops might be avoiding a fight in North Korea pending high-level diplomatic moves that would affect the course of the Korean war."

Mr. Stone's comment is: "Tokyo Headquarters, with or without connivance by Washington, ravaged a city when a truce was in prospect."

"The mass bombing raid on Sinuiju on November 8 was the beginning of a race between peace and provocation. A terrible retribution threatened the peoples of the Western World who so freely permitted such acts to be done in their name. For it was by such means that the pyromaniacs hoped to set the world on fire."

If the conclusion that Mr. Stone draws from his reading of the despatches is correct this is a third and terrible development in the disposition of statesmen and military authorities to treat masses of simple human beings as, to quote the Archbishop of York, "worthless flies."

First, enemy non-combatant men, women and children are destroyed as something incidental to the destruction of enemy military power; second, the non-combatants of

the people the military are alleged to be defending are destroyed because they would otherwise hamper an attack on the enemy; now non-combatants are to be destroyed as a means of provocation in order to prevent an undesired peace.

We used to speak of simple people as mere pawns. The Archbishop has found a more apt description when he says "worthless flies." The Archbishop should read this book, and then consider whether he should not declare it a duty for Christians to become acquainted with its contents.

"The Hidden History of the Korean War" is a very important work. The use of the word "hidden" does not imply any backstairs revelations. What is revealed is arrived at by a careful analysis of information officially available.

The result is devastating. It throws a great deal of light on the beginning of the Korean War, its conduct, and on the truce talks.

We propose to devote a further article in next week's issue on the light that is thrown on the outbreak of the war.

J.A.S.

TRUST AND FAITH BETTER THAN BOMBS AND TANKS

— Co-op Congress Delegate

ABOUT 40 per cent of the voters at the recent Co-operative Congress at Margate recorded a wish for peace, prosperity and a higher standard of living.

An Ardrossan resolution protesting against the re-armament scheme resulting in a lower standard of living for the British people caused a conference split.

On a card vote the resolution found 4,561 supporters, but 6,780 unfavourable votes meant its rejection.

Mr. G. Aitken of the Ardrossan Society declared he knew the "big fellows" were opposed to the resolution but he thought it was favoured by the majority of the members. Why was there a difference between the leaders and the rank and file?

Why were the leaders who opposed Goering and Hitler's cry of guns before butter now supporting re-armament?

Was it that the higher economic position they now occupied was so high their standard of living was not materially affected by the rearmaments burden?

He contended British views and opinions had been moulded by an anti-Soviet and anti-Socialist Press. If Russia wanted war why was she waiting whilst Britain re-armed?

Biggest slump since '30s

Mrs. Diana Purcell, a miner's wife from Nottingham believed the country's grand productive effort since 1945 due to the workers' desire for homes, houses, schools and full employment. But they would be impossible if the national economy was to be based on a colossal armaments plan.

"Some women can't afford sheets or curtains and the textile industry is facing its biggest slump since the '30s," she declared, arguing the country could not afford the armaments scheme.

"I know my eight-year-old daughter will not live if this arms race continues, for it must lead to war," said Mrs. Purcell. The choice was inevitable destruction or disarmament and peaceful negotiation.

Asserting the Labour Government members who voted against rearmament had been proved right by subsequent events, Mr. K. James, of Liverpool, said it was

Sixty nations can't find £1m to feed refugees

— BUT THREE SPEND

£25,610m ON ARMS

THE desperate plight of 1,500,000 refugees was described by a spokesman of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees at Geneva on June 6.

He disclosed that his organisation, which became responsible for the care of refugees when the International Refugee Organisation closed down earlier this year, had only succeeded in collecting £34,000 towards a total of more than £1m. which was needed to keep the refugees from starving.

Of sixty countries asked for voluntary contributions, only four (of which Great Britain is not one) had so far given anything.

Major-General E. D. Fanshawe, formerly head of the IRO in the British Zone of Germany, is to visit Australia, Canada and New Zealand in an attempt to raise money for an emergency fund.

FOOTNOTE.—Year's expenditure on arms by Britain, France and USA only £25,610m.

In Chelsea tonight

Sybil Morrison will be speaking to-night (Friday) at the first of a series of open-air meetings organised by the PPU's Chelsea Group. (See "Diary," page 5.)

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
STamford Hill 2262 (three lines)

13th June, 1952

A DUTY OWED TO TRUTH

IN an article by a Special Correspondent in the Observer for June 1, on Dr. Syngman Rhee's methods of dealing with his Cabinet when they are in disagreement with him, the following passage occurred:

"At the close of 1950 a declaration signed by a majority of the Assembly declared that Rhee and his Cabinet had been guilty of aggression and had started the war."

Now if this statement is true it, of course, completely shatters any claim that the war in Korea is an operation undertaken in order that the United Nations may establish the rule of law in the world by punishing the crimes of aggressors. Such a statement, consequently, was at issue with the policy pursued by the Observer since June 25, 1950.

One took it for granted, therefore, that although there was no other comment in this issue of the paper on these unostentatious five lines there would inevitably be a sequel in the following issue.

It came in a withdrawal in the June 8 issue. The passage was "inaccurately phrased."

"No official record of these meetings of the Assembly can be traced, but the New York Times of November 4, 1950, carried a cable from Seoul which said: 'Opposition to the Rhee administration by some elements of the National Assembly appeared recently in the form of a petition, calling for the entire Cabinet to resign. The petitioners (number undisclosed) sought to lay blame for the war and its losses of property and lives on Dr. Syngman Rhee's Cabinet.'"

The Observer makes the comment that "there is clearly a great difference between an attempt to blame the Syngman Rhee Cabinet for having failed to avert the war, and a charge that Dr. Rhee and his colleagues were actually the aggressors."

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There is in fact, of course, a difference, but it need not be a very great one.

It is not this aspect of the matter that we wish to comment upon now, but a certain reticence that is discernible in the Observer's correction.

Their correspondent had cabled to them that he did not see the original version of the Assembly declaration and that he "may have misinterpreted newspaper reports of the incident."

The quotation made by the Observer from the New York Times of November 4, 1950, can lead the reader to assume that this was the report that their correspondent had misinterpreted.

Is this what is intended? If so, it is a confession on the part of their correspondent of a slovenly and irresponsible piece of work; and frankly we do not believe he has made any such confession.

It is to be observed, however, that the Observer does not state that this is so. It only leads the reader to infer it. It does not even say that their correspondent was aware of the New York Times report; and their correspondent himself says that he may have misinterpreted newspaper reports (a number of reports, be it noted) of the incident.

Now nobody can feel that the United Nations investigation into the circumstances surrounding the beginning of the Korean war was a very exhaustive one. The need to endorse what the United States had already done prevented it from being very thorough. A further examination of the facts will have to be undertaken at the end of the war, should this arrive before it develops into World War III. A consideration of the future functioning of the United Nations will turn upon what actually happened then.

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The Observer would be doing a service to truth if it would arrange for its correspondent to cable the text of all those reports, and publish them. We hope it will do so. In any case we shall be exceedingly disappointed if a newspaper of the Observer's high reputation leaves the matter where it stands.

The Observer's special correspondent in his latest cable remarks that at the present time

"No member of the Korean National Assembly has any doubt whatever that the Korean war began with a large-scale military aggression by the North Korean Army, in the early morning of June 25, 1950."

Quite; but this comment has surely very little bearing on what the earlier members of the National Assembly believed before Dr. Syngman Rhee dealt with them.

Korean scandals

THE presidential election in S. Korea is due in a week's time, and knowing that he had little chance of being re-elected by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly, as the constitution requires, Syngman Rhee has demanded a revision of the constitution.

When his amendment was defeated and the Opposition presented counter proposals which would have handed over to the Premier and Cabinet many of the powers which he was autocratically exercising, the President showed his hand.

He dismissed the Minister of the Interior, (appointing Lee Bum Suk in his place) proclaimed martial law, arrested 12 of the Opposition members and drove others (including the Vice-President, who resigned in protest) into hiding under a threat of further arrests.

In spite of protests from Washington, warnings from UN and a strong letter from Trygve Lie, Dr. Rhee remains defiant, telling UN not to interfere and threatening to order all its agencies out of the country.

And all this on the pretext of a Communist plot against him, which, no doubt he thought would be sufficient justification in the eyes of those who are prone to see the red hand of Communism in any attempt to overthrow corrupt regimes or end tyranny and exploitation. He may even feel aggrieved that this time he cannot get away with it.

Truman is shocked

President Truman expressed a sense of surprise and shock when he heard of Rhee's purge of his opponents in the S. Korean Assembly.

Either his memory is short or he has become more easily shockable, for Rhee is doing today precisely what he did two years ago.

In trying to assess the situation when America intervened in the Korean crisis Peace News quoted from the New York Times of March 14, 1951, the information that Dr. Rhee had made certain of his position by arresting 13 deputies on the charge that they had petitioned UN for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and advisers; exposed corruption by members of the Cabinet; opposed armament expenditure in the Budget and plans for the invasion of N. Korea; and sought to amend the constitution.

President Truman must have been aware of this, but because the American policy of containing Communism could no more tolerate the success of Communism in Korea than it could acquiesce in its success in China, he intervened in what was an internal struggle and has never abandoned the hope of encouraging the Chinese nationalists to resume the civil war in China.

In both cases, in the name of freedom and democracy, he has backed a corrupt government and hopelessly compromised UNO.

Sunday (behind the) Times

It is a little late in the day for the Sunday Times to realise that the action of Rhee has "confronted us with the fact that after two years of bloody war we have made no progress on the political side and have even to ask ourselves what we are fighting for."

Peace News has put that question time and time again as it has reiterated the fact that no political progress could be made by war.

Though the British and American governments may not like the look of it now, we have been fighting a bloody war as an ally of Syngman Rhee and to maintain his authority in S. Korea, not perhaps because they liked him but because they made his cause their cause.

It is also late in the day for the Manchester Guardian to talk about "the scandalous political conduct of Dr. Rhee" or to assert that by the Charter the United Nations have no right to interfere in the internal affairs of any State.

Rhee's conduct has always been scandalous, and it was the Americans who brought him back from America to serve their interests in S. Korea. The action of UN in intervening in Korea was as much an intervention in the internal affairs of a country as was the American action which forced it.

Nothing is more clear than that UNO ought never to have allowed itself to be stampeded into the struggle; its task under the Charter was to mediate, not to attack, but once it became involved for the purpose of deterring aggression it ought to have called a halt when the N. Koreans were driven back across the 38th Parallel and arranged for negotiations there.

It is essential to bring this unholy war to an end at once. Nothing justified the original intervention: nothing can justify the prolongation of the war, let alone its possible extension.

The prisoners

Be it remembered that the one point at issue in the Korean armistice talks is the repatriation of prisoners.

Whatever else the tragedy of Kojé has revealed, it is clear that under the conditions prevailing in the PoW camps an impartial screening of prisoners was quite impossible.

BEHIND THE NEWS

The sudden decision of Lord Alexander to visit Korea, but a few days after Winston Churchill had stated that no such visit was necessary, and the presence of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd with him emphasise the gravity of the political situation.

We hope that they tell General Clark and other American authorities in no uncertain terms that the people of this country are seriously concerned not only about the conditions on Kojé but at the way they have been hoodwinked and at the prospect that the blind leaders of the blind will tumble the whole of mankind into the ditch of destruction.

Power politics - new rules

DOUGLAS HOME, writing to The Times (June 9), points out that although it has become customary to blame any international disturbance on the Communists, such disturbances have been going on for hundreds of years and obviously Communists could not have been responsible for most of them.

In other words, Communists are the modern scapegoats in the game of power politics, the first rule of which has always been "Any move that I make is defence: any move that you make is aggression."

The writer suggests as an amendment: "Any move I make is because I am frightened of you; any move that you make is because you are frightened to death of me."

Anti-Communist conference

THE Daily Worker reports that a conference at Gerrards Cross last weekend passed a resolution calling on the Western Governments to plan and organise partisan activities in Russia and Eastern Europe.

The Conference was organised by Kenneth de Courcy and amongst those present were the Duchess of Atholl, Lady Listowel, at least one Conservative MP and several Generals and big business men, who were "worried about the increasing strain of rearmament."

Their solution, however, was not to call a halt in the arms race, but to seek an immediate decision with Russia, even if it meant war, and to dub anyone who opposes the arms programme a traitor who should be "removed."

There was more than a touch of humour in the suggestion that because the buses taking delegates from London on the first day lost their way the drivers must have been Communists.

End of bi-partisan policy?

HERBERT MORRISON has stated that if Labour is returned to power the British Government will press for the admission of the Peking Government to UN.

Though we may well ask why they did not do so when they were in office, the statement is a welcome sign that the Labour Party is learning from its mistakes, and is prepared to re-shape its foreign policy.

Perhaps the realisation of what UN support for Syngman Rhee has meant has led to the determination not to repeat the mistake in the case of Chiang Kai-shek, and they must be encouraged to maintain their demand in spite of the fact that there is no indication that the American authorities have also learnt their lesson.

But we hope that the moral of Korea will be applied to Germany as well. Not only have Britain and America created in Europe the equivalent of the 38th Parallel in Korea but by their endeavour to strengthen their system of defence through the attempt to bind a future Central German Government by the decisions of Herr Adenauer (at the cost even of German unity), they are interfering in the internal affairs of another nation.

Germany is as much one country as is Korea. The future government of Germany and the future government of Korea is a matter for the peoples to decide, and no conception of Western defence must be allowed to risk a repetition of the tragedy of Korea let alone provoke it.

Let the Labour Party stand firm not only for the admission of the Peking Government to UN but for the policy which will enable a reunited Germany also to become a member.

Labour's statement

The Labour Party's Foreign Policy statement published to-day for consideration by the Morecambe Conference at the end of September, is a depressing document.

There is no call to action, but a carefully-guarded statement, which except for the

embodiment of the recent important pronouncement on a Four Power Conference, and demanding fresh elections for Western Germany before German rearmament, could equally well have been issued by the Conservative Party.

What is particularly disappointing, after Michael Young's fine discussion pamphlet on helping the under-developed countries, is the treatment of this subject.

Here is no call to a crusade, but a few slight and perfunctory references to the Colombo Plan and the need for technical assistance and capital investment in the Middle East.

The statement comments:

"It is clearly a travesty that the delegate from the rump régime of Chiang Kai-shek should speak in the United Nations in the name of the Chinese people who have rejected him, and the Labour Party believes that there can be no lasting settlement in the Far East which is not based on the recognition that the Peking Government is the effective Government of China."

The effect of this "travesty," however, is not confined to the Far East, although the matter is treated by the Labour Party as a separate issue having no relationship to the other matters discussed in the statement.

When the document says that the Labour Party "recognises that the American and British peoples, and the governments that represent them, may often disagree. Such disagreements must always be solved by mutual consent," it gives no indication that there is any recognition that British policy at present is harnessed to the American Government's attitude to China, that this attitude has been the dominant factor governing policy in the Far East, including the Korean war, and that it makes impossible the claim that NATO must remain an organisation in which all members have equal rights and duties.

Where there is disagreement of the character involved here it is the most powerful nation that makes the running and to talk of equal rights and duties is an absurdity which cannot conceal the pitiful manner in which Great Britain (and Europe) is being dragged along.

New opposition to Central African Federation

THERE is opposition to Central African Federation not only from the blacks in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but also from whites in Southern Rhodesia.

The Right-wing opposition in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament has launched a campaign against it and last week tabled a motion of no-confidence in Sir Godfrey Huggins, the Prime Minister.

Mr. R. O. Stockil, the leader of this right-wing group (which, incidentally, is called the Liberal Party) rejects the federal proposals as an attempt to weaken Southern Rhodesia and to strengthen the "black north."

In reporting this development the Observer comments:

"The British Government has decided in favour of implementing federation, even if it involves imposing it against African opposition. But it may have to reconsider in the face of strong European opposition."

This is a curious commentary on the values that operate in relation to African affairs, but it will be ironical if the Africans are saved from what they fear by the action of those who are most adamant that they shall be kept in subordination.

As may be seen in Tunisia also, the white settlers create at least as difficult problems for the Metropolitan Governments as do those who are native to the soil.

The "man on the spot"

IN the Tunisian troubles, as in other parts of Africa, the white settler on the spot is inclined to claim that those who regard the matter from Europe, without first-hand knowledge of the facts and problems involved, have no right to pronounce on the issues that are now presenting themselves.

This is a natural reaction to the expression of views that the Europeans in Africa do not like; but it is a complete inversion of the real position.

The European who only knows about the problems to be dealt with through his reading on the subject, would certainly gain in a solid understanding of the matter if he could also have contact on the spot without his interests being involved.

The overwhelming majority of those who claim the right to pronounce, because of their living experience of the questions at issue, are unable to confront these questions squarely and impartially because they have their own interests to serve, and they are unable to prevent these from influencing their views on the measures they are ready to support.

Where a detached European observer is able to live with these problems without allowing his interests to be part of the matter at issue for him, as, for example, in the case of the Rev. Michael Scott in South and Central Africa, his view is much closer to that of the detached European observer than to those of the attached European settler.

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THE WHITE HERRENVOLK

The Choice Before South Africa, by E. S. Sachs. Turnstile, 15s.

MR. SACHS writes with absolute authority, and no library should be without his book.

The first and most interesting part, entitled "Politics," embodies an historical survey of special interest to pacifists. The author shows how the effects of British imperialism under Rhodes did not end with the Boer war; a fanatical Afrikaner nationalism with Nazi associations arose as a reaction.

We see, too, how Smuts' United Party depressed native conditions when it was in power, as an unphilosophical expedient to provide cheap labour for the gold barons. But when Dr. Malan took over, racial oppression was made absolute under a "White Herrenvolk" philosophy, and the natives condemned to an existence shorn of all hope.

As always, the selfish policies of first the British and then Smuts have had unforeseen results of a disastrous nature.

The author proceeds to survey South African economy. We are persuaded that, on economic grounds alone, the serf system in mining and agriculture is stultifying. Agriculture, lacking British mechanisation, is one-fifth as efficient as here. The mines will be exhausted by 1975. Industrialisation affords the only real hope for the future, but progress and racial bitterness are incompatible.

★

Mr. Sachs' case is so obviously convincing that matters of detail are necessary merely for documentation purposes; his discussion of South African trade unions and their leadership is of local interest only. The style is somewhat ponderous, and there are a few curious expressions, such as the description of the convict labour system as "not only unchristian but immoral."

As we read page upon page of the expressions of the Malan Government, which in its quest for absolute power defies world opinion and prostitutes the law, we are drawn to support Mr. Sachs as a key man in the endless struggle for social justice.

It is not for me to dwell here upon his courageous defiance of despotic laws in the name of the basic human rights. I can but urge the abandonment of all compromise with Malan, exemplified by Seretse's banishment.

The United Nations might with advantage turn from doctrinaire anti-Communism and consider this indictment of Malan which is far more damning than any yet drawn up against the Russian nation. It should give earnest consideration to Mr. Sachs' suggestion of substantial economic aid to South Africa for industrial capitalisation, to be granted conditionally upon her abandoning the colour bar and all its evil manifestations.

F.R.M.

FOOTNOTE.—E. S. Sachs has been ordered to resign from his Union post and prevented from engaging in any political activities. He has courageously defied Dr. Malan's ban and was arrested on the steps of the City Hall, Johannesburg, amid scenes of disgraceful police violence.

SOVIET FILMS

NOTHING else can show us the face of a country too few of us can visit, or the character of its people, as can the film. What is more, films successful in their country of origin show us what is liked by the people of that country. Hence the importance as an aid to international understanding, of the Soviet films now being shown over here by the British-Soviet Friendship Society.

The emphasis in these films is interesting. They show people as personalities involved in a common task and stress the qualities of kindness, courage, optimism and skill. An ever-recurring theme is the nation-wide effort to utilise and transform nature so as to provide an abundance of good things for a peaceful and full life.

We are often told that in Russia there is no individual freedom as we know it, only freedom to follow and express the line laid down by the state. If that is so, then we may assume that these films made in the Moscow film studios indicate the official Soviet viewpoint. This should give encouragement to all who work for peace.

London has just had a festival week of such films and it has been a memorable experience for some of us who have taken the opportunity of this armchair trip behind the "Iron Curtain." We have been delighted by humour, warm human sympathy and breath-takingly beautiful camera art. The feature films are made for appreciation by adult minds, but with a refreshing assumption that courage, zest for life and a forward looking attitude are the attributes of the serious and intelligent adult as well as of youth. M.F.

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Is this revolutionary Christianity?

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK wrote "In an Age of Revolution" in the conviction that the present crisis

"is due to the rejection of Christian faith and morals, an uncompromising attack on Western civilisation, and violent upheavals in the West and in the East."

But these are symptoms of the crisis, effects and not causes, and since the Archbishop makes no serious attempt at a diagnosis of the deeper causes the book shows a lack of fundamental thinking.

"The duty of the nation" as the Archbishop sees it is that "it must have a firm grasp of the ideals and standards held by Western civilisation; it must be armed to protect itself and the freedom of mankind against aggression; and it must, by hard work and improved methods, produce more."

Though he adds that this by itself is not sufficient and that the cause of the crisis is spiritual as well as material and though he discusses the substitutes for Christianity, except in a brief reference to the fatherhood of God, the redemptive power of Christ, the value of the individual and the continuity of life after death, he makes no attempt to set forth the basic principles enshrined in Christ's teaching and practice, and to show what the Christian's relationship to his fellowman must be in the light of them.

Starting from basic assumptions, which have nothing peculiarly Christian about them, he finds it hard to escape from preconceived views and often uses arguments to fit the answer he wants to reach, instead of starting from fundamental Christian principles and allowing their application to carry him to an inevitable conclusion.

COMMUNISM

THUS in three chapters on Communism he starts from the belief that Communism is the greatest peril which the Church has to meet, but thinks in terms of defence against Communism rather than accepting it as a challenge to the Christian Church and asking how the Church would have to put its own house in order if the challenge is to be met. Consequently, when he comes to the third part of the book, many of his arguments are based upon the assumption that the Soviet Union is inherently wicked and untrustworthy and only awaiting an opportunity to attack the West.

He dismisses as nonsense suggestions from Christians in Russia that there is any justification for the Russian view that the Western policy is a threat to their security.

He tries to throw the blame for the crisis on the Soviet Union and makes such

NEGLECTED RESOURCES

WE all know that largely owing to the fact that war preparation under the misnomer defence has a prior claim on all our resources, vast stores of hidden wealth lie untapped and undeveloped, which if used could ensure a reasonable standard of life for all peoples of the world and enable us to make war on our real enemies, hunger, disease and preventable death. But there are also neglected sources of wealth at our very doors.

For instance, waste paper can be sold and although the price has fallen we still obtain a small income from the sale of all waste paper from Peace Pledge Union Headquarters. Will you collect your waste paper and either sell it for the PPU or let us have it to add to our salvage?

Even empty jam jars, let alone old clothes, can be a source of revenue!

If you and your friends or your Group would organise a jumble sale you will find that a quite surprising sum may result. You may even have some old jewellery lying in a draw which you never wear, but which could produce something extra for peace.

If you are one of those who put away their shillings for the meter, would you divide the result between your own comfort and the PPU? Others could collect threepenny pieces or "ship" halfpennies as some already do. I should be glad to hear of other ways in which, without putting an additional burden on incomes which are already so highly taxed for war, more money could be made available for peace-making.

On one fact I am sure you will agree—that somehow or other we who are aware of the difficulties and know the urgency of the situation must find the money which is so necessary. So often it is really the little extra trouble which is involved, which prevents our turning our good intentions into cash. We do not wish to see the road to war paved with good intentions, and we can pave the path to peace with the resources which our intentions represent.

Will you please see if you have any neglected resources, and if there is some way in which you can find the extra pound and shilling of which Headquarters Fund stands in such real need.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1952: £1,000.
Amount received to date: £152.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

The Archbishop of York's "In an Age of Revolution" (Hodder and Stoughton, 20s) reviewed by Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union.

inaccurate statements as that the Soviet Union refuses to allow inspection except under conditions which would make it worthless. He says that unilateral disarmament is the equivalent of national suicide and the hopes and dreams of wishful thinking which ignores the grim facts of the situation.

In other words, without giving any evidence he accepts the assumption on which Western politicians have based their policy and then endeavours to square the Christian message with that of the politicians.

WAR

WHEN he comes to deal with "The Churches and Peace," his treatment of pacifism is on the same level.

He admits that people have a right to look to the Churches for guidance and that many judge the Church by its attitude to war, but complains that any should accuse the Church of hesitation in condemning war because its leaders have "spoken with uncompromising vigour in the condemnation of war."

The Archbishop's own attitude justifies the accusation. Though he gives a graphic description of modern war; asserts that war is hateful to God; that it is not only the result of sin but the cause of further sin, he goes on not merely to justify war, but to exhort the participation of Christians in war, under certain circumstances.

He fails to appreciate that the man in the street attaches little value to a qualified condemnation and that to him the more outspoken the original condemnation of war the more unintelligible the subsequent justification.

The Archbishop seems to be almost surprised that the strong condemnation of war "has convinced some that it is the duty of their nation to refuse to take any part in war, even a war of defence; and therefore that... as individuals they must refuse any form of military service."

He is almost patronising when he states that "all responsible churchmen, however strongly they are opposed to the opinions of pacifists, agree that they should not be excluded from membership of the Church."

PACIFISM

THE Archbishop shows a lamentable failure to understand the pacifist position.

In his main attack on pacifism he quotes from Archbishop Temple's argument that the Christian is faced with the choice between a greater and a lesser evil, in which he has to choose the evil of war as against the evil of injustice.

This has already been answered in a Peace Pledge Union Leaflet ("Your Questions Answered," No. VI), and a copy was sent to the Archbishop with the suggestion that if non-pacifists really wanted to understand the position of Christian pacifists it would be helpful to arrange a small conference.

Though the Archbishop could see no useful purpose in the suggestion, he is not prevented from repeating this argument about the dilemma without making any attempt to answer the pacifist contention that if God's will remains valid there must always be a way of doing positive good, and that the meeting of injustice and tyranny by non-violent instead of violent resistance is the way of love as against the way of either the greater or the lesser evil.

THE UNITED NATIONS

NOTHING perhaps indicates that the Archbishop has not yet thought the problem through more than the contradictions in his own arguments.

He names three characteristics of a just war in which Christians should fight:

It must be defensive and not aggressive; in defence of international law and to prevent large scale injustice; and must hold out a good prospect of victory.

To him "any nation which prefers war to arbitration and negotiation brands itself as an aggressor," but his old prejudices peep out and on his assumption that the Western powers are only acting for defensive purposes they never can be aggressive, while because Communism is inherently evil Communists must always be the aggressors...

He says "no nation is a safe judge of its own cause and should never engage in war without the approval and support of the United Nations."

So long as UN thinks more in terms of strengthening collective action than the means of reconciliation, and the Western Powers—having virtually abandoned any belief in negotiation—largely dominate UN, is its judgment any more reliable?

Does Korea suggest that war waged by the United Nations is any more moral than war waged by an individual nation?

If nothing can be politically right which is morally wrong, is it any wonder—when it is content to hand over to UN the right of moral judgment, and so often speaks

with no other voice than that of Caesar's—that the influence which the Church once had has diminished?

WEAPONS

NO nation is likely to embark on war without the prospect of victory, but to suggest that this is a characteristic of a just war seems to taint principle with expediency.

And what does "good prospects of victory" involve? Obviously waging war more efficiently than the enemy, and the Archbishop "accepts as inevitable the dictum that 'there is nothing whatever to be said for fighting ineffectively.'"

It is to him "clearly inequitable to forbid to one belligerent weapons possessed by the other," and presumably, therefore, though he might regret it, he would not forbid this nation to use any method if it was once used by the other side.

If, on the other hand, he is prepared not merely to express horror at the use of napalm bombing but assert that at least a line must be drawn beyond which the Church would not go in its support of a war, he would be in the position at that point of withdrawing support from the nation at a critical stage. But one of his criticisms is that

"the pacifist who is a conscientious objector, though he has had all the benefits of citizenship, separates himself from the State and his fellow citizens, in the hour of their greatest jeopardy."

The Archbishop cannot have it both ways. He must be prepared to acquiesce in any horror which may become necessary for winning a victory, or he must recognise that there is a point beyond which Christian conscience will not tolerate war—and the pacifist is right in drawing that point where war, which is the horror and evil, itself begins.

PEACE

THE ARCHBISHOP recognises that if the Christian rejects the pacifist position he must show the positive contribution he is prepared to make to peace as well as war. These are a resolute effort to create a right international order and to overcome the inequalities between men and nations.

He overlooks the fact that a right international order is based upon the refusal of the reign of violence and that as the surrender by our forefathers of their right to carry arms and settle their own quarrels was a prerequisite of the establishment of the rule of law in this country, so the rule of international law requires the abandonment of national sovereignty, national armies and the process of violence.

He forgets that the expenditure of vast resources upon preparation for a defensive war makes it impossible to provide adequate resources for the mutual aid of undeveloped countries.

The fear which makes him see Communism as the real enemy blinds him to the fact that the real enemy is hunger, disease and preventable death, and that that is the only war in which Christians should engage.

THE CHURCH

DR. GARBETT lives a busy life and does not claim to be an economist or a philosopher; on these grounds it is excusable if his book shows signs of hurried writing and a lack of fundamental thinking.

But he writes as a Christian teacher in the attempt "to indicate the answer which the Church gives to man's most fundamental and spiritual needs."

The assumption that the answer which the Churches give through their leaders is the same as Christ's answer is not necessarily valid, and what we miss in this book is the examination of Christ's own message and invariable practice and the conclusions to be drawn if they are taken seriously.

The Archbishop's method may perhaps be the result of an unrecognised fear of the conclusions which would have to be drawn, but in any case this book does nothing to weaken the claim of the Christian pacifist that it is not for him to have to justify his position within the Christian Church or to ask the non-pacifist to tolerate his presence as a sincere but misguided person: it is for the non-pacifist to justify his claim to be Christian in the face of the example of the Leader he is pledged to follow.

Christians and the Napalm Bomb

THE sermon on indiscriminate weapons, especially the napalm bomb, which was preached in St. Paul's Cathedral on May 4 by the Rev. Canon L. John Collins, is printed at length in the June issue of Reconciliation (6d from 38 Gordon Square, WC1).

The notes on current affairs also contain much useful material on the napalm bomb and carry the following comment:

"The only way to humanise war is to abolish it. As long as we permit war we cannot reasonably forbid measures calculated to make war successful, unless we expect men so to fight as to court defeat for themselves and their cause. That might be very heroic, but surely it were more sensible to refrain from fighting altogether!"

POLL SHOWS DISAPPROVAL OF U.S. AIR BASES

But 'war less likely' as
result of rearmament

From S. W. GREEN
Secretary, Cambridge Peace Front.

A PUBLIC opinion poll on questions relating to the international situation was taken in Cambridge over the period May 17 to May 27 by members of Cambridge Peace Front.

A sample of the population was selected by listing every 200th person on the electoral roll, starting in each polling district with the same registration number.

Of the people so listed, 6.1 per cent had died or moved house since the register was compiled last November, and a further 15.8 per cent were ill, absent from home on the first, second and third call, or for other reasons not available for questioning. Of the remainder, who were interviewed, 83.4 per cent answered the questions.

The 32 interviewers were forbidden to express their own opinions on the questions, but they did attempt, where a decided answer was not given, to distinguish between the undecided persons, who held views on the subject of the question and might answer it clearly in certain contingencies, and those who held no opinion on it.

The questions and answers in percentages were as follows:

1. Do you think that the present rearmament programme of the Western Powers makes another war more, or less, likely?

A. More likely ... 24.9
B. Less likely ... 55.8
C. (i) Undecided ... 5.0
(ii) No opinion ... 14.4

2. Do you approve or disapprove of air-fields in England being lent to America for establishing atom-bomb bases?

A. Approve ... 33.1
B. Disapprove ... 51.9
C. (i) Undecided ... 7.2
(ii) No opinion ... 7.7

3. Do you think that the rearmament of Western Germany would make another war more, or less, likely?

A. More likely ... 37.6
B. Less likely ... 34.8
C. (i) Undecided ... 7.7
(ii) No opinion ... 19.9

4. Would you approve or disapprove of negotiations for a peace pact between the Powers if the People's Republic of China were included among them?

A. Approve ... 58.6
B. Disapprove ... 22.1
C. (i) Undecided ... 3.3
(ii) No opinion ... 16.0

The replies showed a surprising variety of opinion.

The largest group (7.2 per cent) comprised those answering A, B, A, A to Questions (1) to (4) respectively. This group also stands at one end of the range of opinion, with the BABB group at the other end totalling 4.4 per cent of the forms. The ABAA, ABAB and ABAC groups totalled 10.5 per cent and the BABA, BABB and BABC groups 12.2 per cent.

Interviewer's instructions

Count your forms so that each one may be accounted for. Do not mark them with numbers or names and addresses, except for people in the categories Not Living at Address or Not Available.

Introduce yourself as a member of Cambridge Peace Front, which is anxious to find out what people in Cambridge are thinking about certain things, and is therefore holding a Public Opinion Poll (32 interviewers to 312 people). Make it clear that the replies are anonymous and that the people to be questioned are chosen at random. You may explain the system of selection if necessary.

Do not press people to reply if they do not wish to, but point out that their refusal may affect the results in a way they do not wish.

If asked for more information on Cambridge Peace Front say that in order to avoid bias in the answers you will not talk about it before the questionnaire is completed.

Do not enter into argument or express any opinion on the questions. When the form is completed you may talk about it if the person seems eager to talk. If not, move on and avoid exchanges of opinion.

Unless the person interviewed asks for the form, fill it in yourself, showing it to him when completed. Put a tick in the appropriate place.

A person who will not answer "Yes" or "No" but who has opinions on the question, or who considers it to be phrased in a misleading way, will be given a tick and an R in the "Don't Know" space and will appear under "Undecided" in the summary. A person who says "Don't Know" or whose answer is incoherent will be

Fighting each other is just silly, silly, silly

—BERTRAND RUSSELL

From Robert Greacen

THE Fleet Street Forum, which came into being almost a year ago, had a first-rate "scoop" when it persuaded Bertrand Russell to answer questions by their members last January. Now that discussion has been published under the title "How Near is War?" (Ridgway, 2s. 6d.).

This publication is important not merely for recording what appears to have been a lively and impromptu question-and-answer session, but because it gives the Forum a chance to state in print, as summarised below, just who and what it represents.

The following were among the questions asked:

Q. Can you tell us if you think there really is a serious danger of world war breaking out between Russia and the West?

A. I wish I didn't think so, but I do. On balance I should say it is a six-to-four

chance that there will be war. I mean the rational man—if there were such a person—would accept those odds. That is to say, I think war is rather more probable than not. And the way America is going on makes me think so more and more. As far as I can see a lot of the Americans are bent on having an all-out war against China.

And I think that when the whole American army is bogged down in China it will be a grand opportunity for the Russians to go into Western Germany. So I think these Americans are mad, and the conclusion is not ridiculous.

Q. What do you think is, in fact, wrong with our relations with Russia so that this horrible prospect of war seems so nearly inevitable?

A. Anglo-Soviet relations are very difficult. Of course they might be better than they are. If we were not practically compelled to say "ditto" to what America says in order to get our daily bread we could adopt a slightly more conciliatory attitude towards Russia, but I don't believe it would do very much good.

I think the Russians are really persuaded that the Capitalist forces of the world are permanently opposed to them, and that Britain is necessarily one of the Capitalist countries. I don't think it makes any difference what we do—I believe they will always think of us as enemies.

But we could, I suppose, keep the enmity smouldering, keep it from breaking out. I think, at the moment, that is all you can do. In the long run Russia may grow less narrowly orthodox. In the course of time that happens to most orthodox countries, and if you can avoid an explosion for, say, twenty years, the Russians might be easier to deal with.

For the moment, though, all I think you can do is to avoid anything that leads to an explosion. Always try to soft-pedal everything. But you won't get a fundamental solution of the trouble in the near future—that's my view.

Q. Are the Russians right in thinking they cannot live amicably with the West?

A. No. They could quite easily, provided on each side there was just a little more reasonableness. But you do need that. And what I should want to see is newspapers saying:

"Well, now look, the Russians think Capitalism abominable, and the Capitalists think the Russian system is abominable. Now suppose they go to war—what's going to come of it? There will be nothing left of Capitalism and there will be nothing left of Communism."

"The world will be in ruins and mad peasants will be fighting to get the last mangel-wurzel. It is not going to be any good. You are not going to get any good out of war."

Q. Wouldn't it be just as well if both sides learned to live with each other?

A. It was only after centuries of conflict that Mohammedans and Christians learned to live with each other. There was just as much conflict between Mohammedans and Christians as there is between Capitalists and Communists. They fought the Christians for ages and nothing came of it.

At last it dawned on somebody that a world in which there were Mohammedans and Christians could perfectly well exist peacefully. And that's what you've got to get into people's heads.

That's what I think the Press ought to do. Not to say that Communists are good, or to say that Capitalists are good, but to say that fighting each other is silly, silly, silly.

FOOTNOTE: (from the Foreword to "How Near is War?"):

The association who are known as the Fleet Street Forum came into being some months ago, born—almost spontaneously, and a little desperately—out of the prevailing mood of concern and foreboding in a perilous world.

Men of goodwill everywhere, hemmed in by circumstances for which they feel partially responsible and from which they see no escape, were reacting similarly, uniting into small resistance movements of the mind. Unlike many such groups, the Forum came into existence not merely to express its frustrations, but to do something about them.

Journalists, like philosophers and plumbers, are functional instruments. Peace and war may not be in their hands, but neither could effectively be brought about without them.

So at a meeting in Fleet Street a nucleus of some forty-odd journalists—drawn

(Continued on page five)

CONSCRIPTS COLUMN

In filthy barracks prison

TWO brothers, French conscientious objectors, Robert and André Eiselé, are suffering from the effects of long and harsh imprisonment.

In a letter to the WRI on March 2 Robert says that, following his call-up, when he explained his position as a conscientious objector, he was thrown into the barracks prison, where he stayed for a fortnight in dirty, dark and airless conditions.

He was then taken to the Psychiatric Hospital at Maréville, near Nancy, for observation, where he submitted to all the formalities in this hospital, and where, for some reason not stated, he underwent ten days agony following a lumbar injection.

He remained at this hospital for two months, and then he was sent back to his unit at Metz, where again he was imprisoned in the filthy barracks prison. His health damaged by the sufferings he had undergone, he was later posted to the Camp d'Ildron, where he was ordered to undertake certain duties which he could not agree to carry out. Again, he was thrown into prison, a clean prison this time, but so cold, that he became ill, and was taken to the infirmary.

His normally indifferent health has been greatly affected by his imprisonment: and he is very worried about his family.

His brother, André, is undergoing his fourth year of imprisonment, during which he has been imprisoned in more than ten different prisons.

His father is seriously ill, his mother is unwell, and he has two small sisters. He resents bitterly the enforced confinement, which makes it impossible for him to give his family the help they so badly need.

Imprisoned with Eiselé at the Camp d'Ildron are also Albert Lazier, Daniel Lipowicz, and another war resister whose name is unknown to the WRI.

IN BRITISH PRISONS

Nine British conscientious objectors were in prison last week, and one in a Borstal institution following their refusal to be conscripted into the armed forces.

Want to do peace work

Audun Birkeland and John Oldervik are now undergoing sentences of 12 and 18 months respectively in Norway for refusing to accept alternative service offered by the Government in lieu of military service. They want to undertake constructive work for peace and hope by their willingness to accept imprisonment to bring about a change in Norwegian CO legislation.

Geoffredo Gazzotti is understood to be a victim of psychiatric intimidation. He is a native of Faenza (Italy) and a teacher of Ceramic Technology. He has been treated as a madman and has been subjected to constant supervision in the hope, presumably, of breaking down his determination not to put on military uniform. He was sentenced on October 12, 1951.

—WRI News Service

'Wouldn't hurt a fly'—5 years

Clifford Walter is now serving a five-year sentence in the USA; before sentencing him Judge Theodore Levin stated that he thought Walter a sincere young man, who "wouldn't hurt a fly."

The Anti-Conscription Council of Victoria (Australia) has issued a handbill explaining the Conscription Act recently passed by the Government, which calls up youths of 17 and 18 for 176 days' service in the forces.

Will Conscription Succeed? the handbill asks, and points out that when it was tried in Australia before, under a scheme introduced in 1911, two-thirds of the boys failed to register, and 33,942 people were prosecuted for offences under the Act. The address of the Council, which is appealing for support in working for the repeal of the present Act, is Room 3, 1st Floor, 343 Little Collins Street, Melbourne, C1.

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Up and Doing

GOING DOWN

AS the Universities close for the long summer vacation so PN loses touch with many students who, during term time, take the paper regularly from their University Pacifist Society.

Students are reminded that a temporary order for the paper may be placed with their local newsagent; alternatively short period subscriptions are accepted for postal supply from this office (5s for twelve weeks and pro rata). We need your support in and out of term, and hope you will spare some of the holiday for street selling and other sales activities.

Readers generally will know that pacifism is now a live, and often a lively, issue at the Universities. Students from your district may be glad of a spare copy of PN passed on regularly—they can't always afford to buy it.

A good grounding in pacifism is the basis of a sound education!

H.F.M.

Circulation last week 12,000 copies

680,000 fled their homes

In South Korea 398 Presbyterian churches have been destroyed or seriously damaged and nearly 400,000 Presbyterians out of 680,000 have been forced to flee their homes. Presbyterians constitute the largest Protestant group in Korea where there are 2,000 churches.—(RNS.)

I. F. Stone

The Hidden History of the Korean War

★

This is the kind of study in war propaganda that does not usually appear until long after a war is over when there is no risk in exposing it. At once a tour de force of research and a brilliant piece of interpretation. 21s.

E. S. Sachs

The Choice Before South Africa

★

This timely and challenging book by Dr. Malan's most spirited opponent (see daily Press) is written with sparkling vigour. With fully documented sections on Apartheid, the Role of the Churches, Economic Life, the political parties and T.U. movement, it should be read by all working for international and racial harmony. 15s.

TURNSTILE PRESS

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Last words on violence

MY old friend, Sybil Morrison (your issue of June 6) has pointed out just what I hoped someone would point out: that my reply (your issue of May 30) to critics of my address to the AGM of the PPU, by being "rather angry," is itself an illustration of my contention that violence is inherent in all of us, and that even pacifists, if they are not to pretend to be what they are not, must hit hard. I'm grateful to her for backing up my argument.

However, I don't really agree that it was a question of my being misunderstood; though certainly one may always fail to express oneself clearly, while a printed report, of necessity much curtailed, may tend to make confusion worse confounded. I still think that to misquote words which you have before you, correctly recorded by Peace News, is what I called it, "apparently deliberate misreading," and thus an act of violence.

Well, then, we're all in the same boat

where violence, in its manifold forms, is concerned. That is what I wanted to make plain. It is, after all, an indication of human solidarity, and we can all value it as such; for it's certain that, until we recognize our common vices, we shall not begin to develop common virtues such as would make warfare impossible.

On which note of elevated morality I am sure, Sir, that you will be relieved to have me bow myself out of this revealing correspondence.

R. H. WARD.

Lydney, Glos.

[This correspondence is now closed.—Ed., PN.]

Catholics and war

FURTHER to comments made in PN some months ago on the above topic, the undersigned has been in correspondence with Jesuit theologians in an endeavour to clear up common distortions or confusions, and any reader can on application to BM/JONIB, London, W.C.1, receive information as to the result of the correspondence.

JOHN NIBB.

The Freundschaftsheim

IN my report on the Freundschaftsheim (PN, May 30) it was wrongly stated that volunteers receive "a monetary payment of a minimum of half a mark (about tenpence) a day." The volunteer has to pay this very moderate charge.

W. R. HUGHES.

Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham.

Barefaced betrayal

THE Times of May 30 published a report from Berlin on the occasion of the visit by Mr. Eden, and in connection with the British military display when he opened the English Garden in the Tiergarten.

The following is an extract: "The Germans are always attracted by military spectacle, and the martial note provided by the East Yorkshire Regiment acted as a magnet."

After a world war to end German militarism, this seems to me about the most barefaced betrayal imaginable. C.C.

PEACE TRAINING UNIT IN CANADA

A PACIFIST training unit recently planned by the Canadian Fellowship of Reconciliation included lectures in peace philosophy, technique and peace-oriented facts, figures and points of view.

After the period of study the trainees were to be sent out in small groups to speak in young people's groups, local churches, service clubs and community gatherings.

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MEETINGS

BIRMINGHAM TOWN Hall, Sun. June 15 at 7 p.m. Jack Gaster, British member of the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers in Korea: Dr. E. S. Burhop, British Peace Committee. "Against Terror weapons—for a Free Power Peace."

KOREA—Two years of Murder. Public protest meeting. End Korean War. Return all prisoners. Chairman, Mr. S. S. Silverman. MP. Speakers: Mr. G. Bing, QC, MP, Mr. S. Swinkler, MP, Tues. June 24, Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Rd., W.C.1. 7.45 p.m. Admission 6d. Britain-China Association.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube), Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

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SITUATIONS VACANT The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a Local Office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled Employment Agency IF the applicant is a man aged 18-64 inclusive or a woman aged 18-59 inclusive, UNLESS he or she or the employment is excepted from the provisions of Vacancies Order 1952.

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WORLD LEAGUE against Vivisection opposes all cruelties in food, dress, amusements and medicine. Copy of "The Animal's Champion," free on request, 42 Aberdeen Rd. London, N.5.

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Fleet Street Forum

(Continued from page four)

from a great variety of newspapers and periodicals, and from all shades of opinion and conviction—agreed on the formation of a vehicle through which their misgivings could be shared and constructive intentions expressed.

It was sponsored by no organisation, other than itself; directed by no political line, other than that of opposing the drift to war.

We who invented the Forum, then, constituted it on a very elementary principle: as a forum of ideas and discussion based on the facts in world affairs that go to make up the environment of our trade. For those who do not know the Forum, or who darkly suspect what they have heard, it might be worth pointing out that it is neither smug nor evangelical, tractarian nor revolutionary; it transacts most of its business groping for and defining its own objectives. It bases itself on the obvious thesis: that newspapermen, by and large, only know what they read in the papers—a disillusioning principle but roughly a true one.

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Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can; and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, June 13

CHELSEA: 3 p.m. Manor Ho. (Opposite Town Hall). Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison, John Millwood. PPU.

Saturday, June 14

GLOUCESTER: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Greyfriars, Southgate St. "Britain—Budge or Battlefield." Harry Franklin (President, NUR); D. G. Williams, MA (late Headmaster, Crypt School); and Sybil Morrison. Chair: Dr. James Horsley. Gloucester Peace Groups (PPU and For).

SHEFFIELD: 3 p.m. Graves Park. Picnic. Meet at Refreshment Pavilion. Bring own food. PPU.

YORK: 3 p.m. Co-op Buildings, Railway Street (top floor). Area Mtg. Pooled tea. PPU.

Saturday, June 14 - Sunday, June 15 LEICESTERSHIRE: Week-end conf at Wistow. Hugh Faulkner. Details from J. H. Birdsall, 49 Barbara Av. Leicester.

Sunday, June 15

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Miller St. and Argyle St. Open-air Mtg. PPU.

MANCHESTER: 7.15 p.m. Platt Fields open-air mtg. Fred Barton (Nat. Chairmen, I.L.P.). United Peace Fellowship. Details from Peggy Tims, 329 Gt Western St., Manchester 14.

Monday, June 16

COVENTRY: 7.30 p.m. 87 Stoney Rd. Discussion. PPU.

Tuesday, June 17

LONDON, W.1: 7.30 p.m. Hope House, 67 Peter Street, Westminster. Ernest Fernyhough, MP. "World Problems and Peace." Chair: Ron Huzzard. I.L.P.

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Upper Lattimore Rd. Janet Lacey, Youth Secretary of the British Council of Churches. "Youth and the Ecumenical Movement." For.

CHELSEA: 8 p.m. 17 St. Leonards Terrace, S.W.3. Phyllis Vallance, "Parents and Pacifism." PPU.

Wednesday, June 18

LEWISHAM: 8 p.m. 10 Perry Rise, Forest Hill, S.E.23. Group mtg and discussion. PPU.

Thursday, June 19

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Ho. Bush Road. Miss Pracy. "Pacifists Must Fight." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open air mtg. Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman. PPU.

Saturday, June 21

HULL: 3.30 p.m. Peace Centre, Bond St. Hugh Faulkner. Area Conf. For.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. 5 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square. Marjorie Mitchell, MSc. "Adult-Child Relationship in Home, School and Community." For tea at 4 p.m. (6d) please notify Jone Burgess, 9 West St. Hertford, by June 14. Education Commission PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. Dick Sheppard Ho. 6 Endsleigh St. Mtg. for discussion. PPU.

SHEFFIELD: Methodist Peace Fellowship Rally. Details from Dr. Harold Miller, 20 Blackbrook Rd, Lodge Manor, Sheffield 10.

WORCESTER: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Sansome Walk. Rev. Claud Colman, MA, Hilt. "For Such a Time as This." For.

Sunday, June 22

LONDON: 3 p.m. Clapham Common. Speakers ground. Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison (Secretary, Alan Breese, 115 Elsenham St. S.W.18). PPU.

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Miller St. and Argyle St. Open-air Mtg. PPU.

Thursday, June 26

HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Heath St. Gorder Catchpool. "The German Crisis." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open air mtg. Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman. PPU.

Saturday, June 28

HUTTON: 3.30-7 p.m. Hutton Residential Schools. Rev. Clifford Macquire. "The Abolition of War." For.

SALISBURY: 3 p.m. Rechabite Hall, Crane St. Area Conf. The Rev. Lewis MacLachlan, For.

TORQUAY: 3.15 p.m. Addison's Cafe. Carey Parade. John Ferguson, MA, BD Chair. Mrs. Lloyd Jones. For.

Sunday, June 29

PLYMOUTH: 3.15 p.m. Swarthmore Hall, Mutley Plain. John Ferguson, MA, BD. Chair. Rev. E. Mansfield. For.

Saturday, July 5

SHEFFIELD: One day school at Longshaw Ho, commencing 3 p.m. Reginald Reynolds. "Prospect for Peace." Participants from Winifred Eason, 6a Summerfield, 18. PPU.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

Quakers' duel on disarmament proposals

PHILIP NOEL-BAKER'S articles on the American disarmament plans, published in the News Chronicle on May 19 and 20, have been followed up by many letters to the Editor, including two from Gerald Bailey, former Director of the National Peace Council, organiser of the Quaker mission to Moscow last year, and a member of the Friends' team of observers at the last UN General Assembly.

Mr. Noel-Baker, Labour MP for South Derby and also a Quaker, whose experience of international negotiations goes back to the 1919 Peace Conference, described the American proposals for disarmament, with international inspection, as a "bold lead."

"Rearmament, disarmament, financial and technical aid to backward nations—these are three parts of one coherent foreign policy," he wrote.

Put negotiation first

Gerald Bailey's first letter disputed Noel-Baker's contention that all that was needed to achieve disarmament was Russian acceptance of the American plan. "There will be no stopping the arms race until we get negotiated political settlements with the Russians," he declared.

Philip Noel-Baker, in a response published on May 29, repeated his assertion that the American proposals were right and fair, and said he believed that if Gerald Bailey were to read "all the American proposals and the minutes of the discussions, not only in Paris, but in the (disarmament) commission ever since" he

would no longer consider that the American delegation were partly to blame for the slow progress of the negotiations.

The test of sincerity

Gerald Bailey returned to the fray on June 9, pointing out that the Americans were at one and the same time talking disarmament and acting rearmament—virtually forcing the Germans to rearm, and building military bases in Japan, North Africa and elsewhere.

"The test of sincerity in the matter of disarmament is the willingness to pursue determinedly and make the necessary concessions to achieve great-power settlements on such issues as the unity and independence of Germany. That test challenges both East and West," his letter ends.

Sacked for refusing to take loyalty oath

THREE American Quakers, two of them members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, have lost their jobs for refusing to comply with a new law in Pennsylvania requiring loyalty oaths from public employees.

They are Helen Corson who has worked for 15 years for a County Board of Public Assistance, and two school teachers, Eugene Mercer and Paul W. Goulding.

A recent statement by the American Friends Service Committee declared: "We believe it is basically important for all people to support educational efforts which respect the right of the teacher to seek and teach truth as he finds it, and of the student to study differing views in arriving at his own judgments. The society toward which we work thrives on creative diversity and withers on coerced conformity."

The Teachers for Peace Council has passed a resolution condemning the use of the napalm bomb. Copies have been sent to the Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary, UN and UNESCO.

The Trade Unions and Peace

FROM TED JONES

THE London Area of the Peace Pledge Union has formed a trade union sub-committee of active and experienced trade unionists to examine ways and means of informing the trade union movement in London of the PPU's aims and objects.

They hope to form a network of pacifists through the trade unions who will impress pacifist ideas and opinions where they will be most effective—in the union branches.

The Area intends to supply trade union branches and branch officials with leaflets and advance notice of public meetings and to organise public meetings for trade unionists.

At the Whitsun conferences . . .

A Delegation to Russia was decided upon by the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers at their Conference at Blackpool last week, despite opposition from a delegate who said that it would cost at least £1,000 to £2,000, and the money could be put to better use. The decision arose out of a resolution from the Clydeside branch asking the Executive to seek facilities for delegates to visit Russia and for their counterparts to visit Britain. The branch felt that this would help to create a more friendly spirit among peoples as a means of preserving peace.

The Electrical Trades Union, by 316 votes to 6, passed a resolution which noted with grave concern the existing tension in the world and expressed the view that the arms race not only led to war but also increased the cost of living, caused cuts in the social services and lowered the standards of life of the people. It also called for a five-power conference to negotiate a settlement of outstanding problems.

The Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers heard their chairman, Archibald McDougall, denounce the present arms expenditure: "The talk that this is defence against the danger of Russian domination does not impress me," he said.

"Defencelessness offers hope"

"THE rules of war are no longer worth the paper they are printed on," said the Rev. Glenn Smiley, American Methodist minister, addressing a Fellowship of Reconciliation meeting at Nottingham on Friday. "It is always the nations who are winning that talk about Geneva rules of war," he said.

Pacifists could no longer be accused of being unrealistic, for it was no longer possible to reason about war on the basis of calculated risk. Indeed, an American general had estimated that 40 million people would be killed in the first night of an atomic raid on the United States.

"The only true defence in this world is defencelessness," said Mr. Smiley. "If you arm yourself, you automatically arm your enemy. Making yourself defenceless is hard to accept even though you know that is true."

"There is no easy way at the present time; to be defenceless is as dangerous as the other way, but it does offer hope because this action is based upon right and if one is to be killed it is better to be killed doing a right action than a wrong one."

The Rev. W. G. Clement presided. The Rev. Glenn Smiley is an area secretary in the American FOR.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by The W. F. Clifford Printing Co. Ltd. (T.U.), London, N.16.

THE LESSON OF KOREA

The malfeasance of Dr. Syngman Rhee, followed by General Eisenhower's blunt assessment that we can neither retreat nor "build up an attack that would be successful on the ground" has suddenly confronted us with the fact that after two years of bloody war we have made no progress on the political side and have even to ask ourselves what it is that we are fighting for.

—Sunday Times, June 8, 1952.

If one tries to end strife by strife, there will be strife for ever.

—"Sayings of Confucius."

THOUGH the Sunday Times and its readers may only now have become aware of the futility of the Korean war, and awakened to the fact that we are not even sure "what it is that we are fighting for," this cannot be said of Peace News and its readers.

It has been frequently pointed out in this paper that the war in Korea is a bitter and terrible object lesson on the complete uselessness of trying to settle disputes by enlarging the dispute into a war.

When it was first alleged, now nearly two years ago, that the North Koreans had launched an attack upon the South Koreans, the majority of people in this country knew little or nothing about Korea, or for that matter, ever heard of Syngman Rhee, who was then being boosted as the leader of a tiny Republic, and the man who had with great courage immediately rallied his people to withstand the North Korean's attack.

It is true that there were some rumours that the attack had in fact been provoked by Syngman Rhee, but this was designated as Communist propaganda, and discounted. The rights and wrongs of the case, and the whole question of which side was the first to attack has long been forgotten in the clash of armies, the deadly destruction of peoples and villages, the blood, agony and devastation of ruthless war-making, and the crashing din of biased propaganda from both sides.

When MacArthur drove back the North Korean army beyond the 38th Parallel, and before his threat to the Manchurian frontier seemed likely to precipitate the third world war and brought about his dismissal,

most of the Press had broken out into paeans of praise for a great military victory for the United Nations, which it seemed to be implied, was synonymous with proof of the rightness of the UN cause.

That might is the same as right is a theory that has long been held by militarists and dictators, but it is one of the most appalling fallacies in the whole history of war-making. Franco won the civil war in Spain, but there are only a few who would be prepared to say that anything was settled by his victory, other than proof of who was the strongest.

When the fortunes of battle changed, and the so-called United Nations forces were driven back again to the 38th Parallel, it did then seem to penetrate to the minds of politicians and statesmen that a whole year of war had resulted in the respective armies being in precisely the same position from which they had started, so truce talks were begun.

But when once a war is in progress, pride and prestige become as important as military power. To admit defeat, to surrender to a stronger army, is the ultimate disaster, so that if there is no way out of a military deadlock except by some kind of negotiation, then at least it must be understood that the talks are subject to conditions, and those conditions often sound ominously like a demand for "unconditional surrender."

The lack of any real desire to conclude a peaceful settlement has been obvious from the very start of the truce talks; that they have broken down is not surprising, for if two sides are only concerned to achieve the equivalent of a military victory without complete defeat by force of arms then the talks are doomed to failure at the outset.

The tragedy of Korea is one for which the United Nations is as responsible as the USSR, for both sides have put their faith in war, and their subsequent intransigence belongs to war, not to peace.

The lesson of Korea is the lesson, not only of war's utter inhumanity, but its complete futility; it is to be hoped that the lesson, at long last, is at least in the process of being learned.

Pacifist Trade Unionists

Peace Pledge Union members who are members of trade unions are asked to communicate with Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, giving their name, address, and name of union.

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Have you a car?

OPERATION GANDHI require cars with drivers, all day Saturday, June 28, to take pacifists to US Air Base in East Anglia from London, Birmingham, Cambridge, Coventry, Leicester, Northampton, Oxford and towns within 100 miles of Mildenhall. Shared payment for petrol, etc. Offers to address below.

We shall endeavour to arrange transport facilities at a pooled charge of 7s. 6d. per head for all pacifists in S.E. England wishing to join in this action as poster paraders and leaflet distributors. Please notify us if you wish to take part.

OPERATION GANDHI, 79, Lordship Park N.16

Emrys Hughes, M.P.

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GERMAN CLERGY STAND UP AGAINST MILITARISM

By Dr. FRITZ WENZEL

President of the Versöhnungsbund (German Section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation) and a member of the German Federal Parliament.

FOLLOWING a letter which I sent to the press in December 1948, announcing the proposed formation of an association of pacifist clergy, nearly 100 clergy and ministers have got into touch with me.

My letter, which was originally published in Das Andere Deutschland (the German pacifist fortnightly), was reprinted in many other periodicals, both clerical and political.

In it I quoted some words of Archbishop Soderblom of Sweden, which I reproduce here because of their great importance:

"I have told my clergy that they are no more at liberty to decide whether they are in favour of peace, or the institution of war, than they are to decide whether they are for or against adultery or theft. And if they say that the world has not yet advanced far enough to be able to avoid war, I tell them that it is their duty, as Christian ministers, to help it to advance towards that goal."

The majority of the replies which have been reaching me ever since, have come from the younger generation of ministers, who, speaking in nearly all cases from personal experience in the last war, declared their full support for the plan.

The Field of Dishonour

The following is typical of many of the letters I received:

"I see that you are proposing to form

10,000 to defy Malan

TEN Thousands Indians and Africans have handed in their names to a Committee making arrangements for mass civil disobedience as being ready to go to prison for acts of defiance to Dr. Malan's Apartheid laws.

It is expected that the list of those prepared to disobey these racial laws will be completed by June 26. The campaign, plans for which were outlined in a report in Peace News on Jan. 11, 1952, will begin shortly after June 26.

ARTISTS FOR PEACE

Artists from all over the world have presented pictures to the second "Artists for Peace" Exhibition and Sale, which is being held at the Royal Hotel, Woburn Place from June 10-22.

PPU meeting in Gloucester

We regret that the wrong date for the Gloucester Peace Meeting was published in Peace News last week under the heading "Railmen's leader to speak at Gloucester." The meeting takes place to-morrow night, June 14. (See "Diary," page 5.)

an association of clergy to stand up against militarism of all kinds, and seek earnestly to promote peace between the peoples. This is an important task, in view of the great prevalence of nationalism among the clergy, and I should therefore be grateful if you would send me more information about your plans."

Many of the writers say that they have been working for peace for many years, and are members either of the German Peace Society (Friedensgesellschaft) or the FOR.

A pastor in the Eastern Zone writes:

"I am sure I am not the only minister in the Church of Saxony who will wholeheartedly support your proposal. (He is not,—F.W.) Having served the Fatherland for six terrible years on what I have now learnt to recognise as the field of dishonour, I regard it as a sacred duty to see that never again shall the sirensongs of national or supra-national propaganda tempt us parsons to desert our true and God-given duty of preaching the Gospel."

PoW who met British Pacifists

Another writer said that he had met many absolute pacifists when he was a prisoner of war in England, and rejoiced in the knowledge that their testimony had acted at least as a pin-prick, in keeping alive the consciousness of the sinfulness of war.

Another correspondent quoted the words of George Fox, "Live in the virtue of life and power which take away the occasion of all wars," an injunction which Christians throughout the world should take to heart. I should also mention that many of the writers asked that the question of Christianity and war should be clarified, from the theological point of view, and we hope that the Association of Pacifist Clergy (Bund der antimilitaristischen Pfarrer) will make this one of its tasks.

Our first meeting was held in April, and we hope that our work, which will be carried out quietly and modestly, may render a real service to ministers, the Church, and to the cause of Christianity in Germany.

—Condensed from "Das Andere Deutschland," June 1, 1952.

Eleventh-hour appeal

Telegrams opposing the "re-arming of the German people were sent to the Governments of both East and West Germany and their respective Parliaments on May 17 by four Christian pacifist bodies in Berlin.

They were the Christian Peace-Service, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Quakers, and Mennonites.

Their "eleventh hour" appeal declared: "If rearmament is begun, we know that the cold war will be sharpened to an intolerable extent, and that hot war will come dangerously close."

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